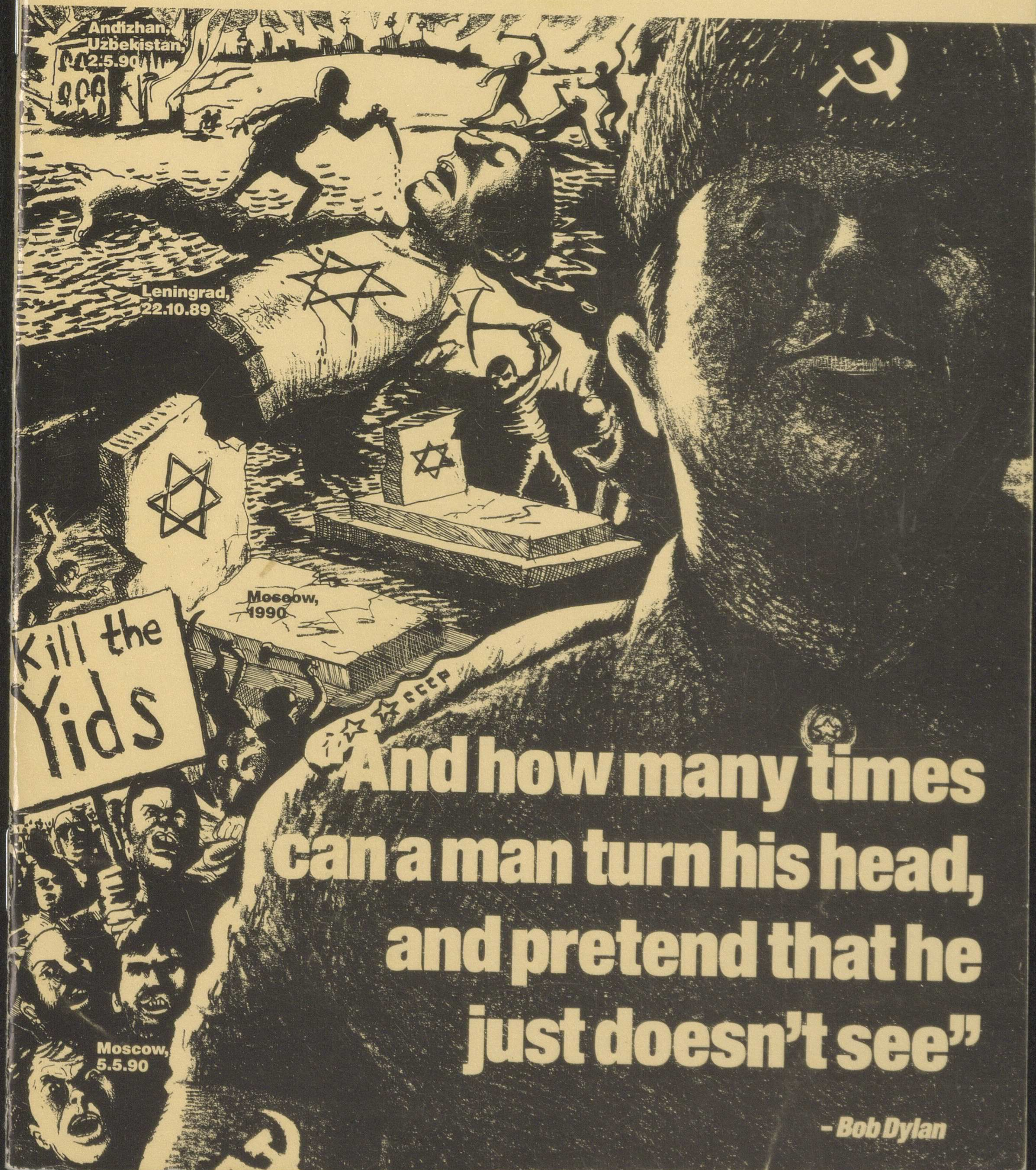


ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE USSR

By Simon Klarfeld



**“And how many times
can a man turn his head,
and pretend that he
just doesn't see”**

- Bob Dylan

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE USSR

This booklet has been written by Simon Klarfeld, Projects Co-ordinator of the Student and Academic Campaign for Soviet Jews (SACSJ). The following individuals and organisations assisted in the production of this booklet :-

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FOREWORD

By Natan Sharansky

As soon as glasnost in the Soviet Union provided an opportunity for more freedom of expression, we could witness the rapid growth of Pamyat and similar ultra-nationalistic, reactionary and anti-Semitic mass organisations. In Pamyat we see cautionary warnings about the long-term prospects for successful reform and human rights in Russia. Simply put, the problem of Pamyat is a reflection of the larger dilemma of freedom in the USSR.

Free individuals are a natural danger for totalitarian regimes. Freedom was the key to my own survival as well as to the survival of my fellow political prisoners in the Gulag. Our strength to endure came from our own identity as free people. As one who had found an inner freedom through hard days of long interrogation, false charges, staged trials and brutal incarcerations, I was at peace with myself, I knew who I was, what I stood for and what I had to do.

The kind of blind hatred that is exemplified by Pamyat is a manifestation of a systematic denial of freedom. On the part of the cynical Soviet elite, Pamyat is an attempt to deflect the search for liberty through the preaching of bigotry. On the part of Pamyat's followers, hate reflects a fear of freedom that is symptomatic of unfree people in an unfree society. Those who are unable to accept freedom for themselves can be manipulated against others who would seek it. Pamyat is an expression of the slave mentality that defines Soviet life.

This culture of unfreedom has deep roots in Russian history.

Anti-Semitism found fertile ground in this environment because Jews continued to cherish a history and feeling of destiny that exalted freedom and human dignity. As such, Jews in Russia have been a force for political change and artistic individuality. The enemies of freedom and the masses who fear change targeted the Jews as a dangerous force, an alien mentality.

Even political differences do not present a problem for anti-Semites. For those who support the Soviet regime, all dissidents are Jews; for those who do not, the Jews are responsible for creating the revolution, for Stalin's atrocities and for stagnation during the Brezhnev period. The so-called "anti-Zionist" literature actually supports and openly encourages the wide spectrum of anti-Semitic feelings which we now observe in Pamyat.

Gorbachev, who wants to preserve the system yet introduce reform, is now facing a major problem. An effective social system in the modern, technological world requires a population which has political and psychological freedom necessary to exercise creativity and initiative. Paradoxically, perestroika can only succeed if the Soviet regime grants the populace more freedom than it wants or is able to give, and if Russian people, who have been conditioned to a mind-set of external control, accept more freedom than they may want to have. Without an openness to freedom, real restructuring is doomed to failure. Pamyat serves as an indicator of this fundamental contradiction.

Extracted from the Anti-Defamation League's publication: "Pamyat: Hatred Under Glasnost" (1989)

INTRODUCTION

Due to Mikhail Gorbachev's "glasnost" there has been a surge of individuals and groups seeking to air their views - primarily their grievances - in public. This has been done in the form of demonstrations, letters to newspapers, and other "Western-style" campaigning methods. This apparent growth of democracy in the USSR has been welcomed with open arms in the West; however, as has been the case in many other countries of the world, such democratic processes are being utilised by an ever-increasing, racist, xenophobic, and more often than not, anti-Semitic, section of the population.

With a worsening economy, at least from the point of view of the average citizen on the street, national unrest, and greater freedoms of expression, the very future of the Jews in the USSR may well be at stake. With increasing attacks coupled with the Soviet authorities usually turning a blind eye to (if not assisting) this rise in overt anti-Semitic sentiment, Soviet Jews have appealed to the West for protection.

It is important not to underestimate the importance of the food queue in the process of inciting racial hatred. As history has shown time and time again, when the food queue grows longer, racist sentiments increase: the "reaction" of blaming an escapegoat is a classic reaction. In the case of the Soviet Union, that scapegoat has always been the Jew.

One major question that must be raised is whether or not anti-Semitism has become part of mainstream ideology. With the appointment of Valentin Rasputin, a renowned anti-Semite, to Gorbachev's Presidential Council in March 1990, this question becomes even more apparent (see later for an example of an anti-Semitic statement made by Rasputin).

The Soviet authorities are bound by domestic law and international agreements to prevent discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or nationality, and to bring to justice those who incite racial hatred. The first stage of this anti-racism policy must surely be to recognise the existence of racist individuals and groups in the USSR: it is not at all certain if even this provisional stage has been reached by the Soviet authorities.

This booklet looks at several aspects of anti-Semitism in the USSR, ranging from its history and literature to a case study of Pamyat - the most well-known of the anti-Semitic groups in Russia, if not in the whole of Eastern Europe. This booklet is not designed to be an exhaustive work encompassing all relevant topics, and the areas that are covered are not necessarily definitive in all aspects.

PAMYAT: A CASE IN QUESTION

'Pamyat', which means memory, is a chauvinist, anti-Semitic mass organisation that preaches hatred of the Jews. It was founded in 1980 by several employees of the USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry, with the intention to preserve and secure traditional Russian historical and cultural movements. It also called for national pride, traditional moral values, abstention from alcohol and volunteer weekend labour.

It met a popular response and the organisation began to grow. Pamyat now has chapters in many cities and claims its membership numbers in the tens of thousands. Gradually it became an increasingly attractive vehicle for those people with an agenda of chauvinistic Greater Russian nationalism and anti-semitism.

In Autumn 1985 Pamyat left the Ministry of Aviation Industry emerging with a new leadership and a new programme. Its membership included well-known anti-Zionist figures Romanenko, Evseev and Begun and its leadership has been dominated by Dimitri Vasiliev, who publicly stated on BBC Television News in Spring 1989 that Jews were responsible for Russia's ills.

Pamyat's ideology draws heavily from the nineteenth century Slavophile movement that called upon Russia to reject any attempt to become more like the West and, in the process, abandon its own traditions. Like the Slavophiles, Pamyat sees the West as lacking in moral, ethical and spiritual values, and offering only an empty, superficially attractive, materialism in their places. Jews are particularly believed to be the principal importers of Westernization into Russia and are, as a result, both hated and feared as a cultural enemy.

Among the anti-Semitic claims made by Pamyat are charges that Jewish "internationalists", in league with the Masons, spearheaded the destruction of traditional Russian culture during the 1920's and 1930's; that Jews active in the Soviet arts and media are currently acting to "contaminate" Russian culture; and that Soviet Jewish emigres "defame" Russia from abroad. Jews are blamed for the hardships of life in the USSR, are blamed for massive soil erosion, are seen as responsible for the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl, and are even blamed for the stagnation of the Brezhnev years.

It would be naive to think that the Pamyat movement is an entirely unified one. There are several different factions within Pamyat who disagree on issues such as the importance of the Russian Orthodox Church. One factor does unite them - Russian nationalistic chauvinism and virulent anti-Semitism.

Pamyat should therefore be seen as a sort of umbrella organisation acting as a mouthpiece for racists within Russia. As is the case with many political organisations, splits have developed due to clashes of personalities. (For more information on Pamyat's factions, see the section entitled "Glossary of Various Anti-Semitic Organisations in the USSR")

Support for Pamyat amongst the Soviet hierarchy is strong. Boris Yeltsin, currently the President of the RSFSR, received a Pamyat delegation on May 6 1987 when he was first secretary of the Moscow Communist Party organisation. He is reported to have said after the meeting that Pamyat should be given legal status. In May 1989 British Parliamentarian, Lord Bethell met Yuri Reshetov, Head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's human rights department. Reshetov is reported to have said, "We have warned them about racial incitement. We have to remember though, that they do some good work. They organise poetry readings".

Furthermore, Pamyat meetings have been held on Communist Party premises and the Party has also extended official approval for public marches and the use of public halls.

Pamyat literature is being continually distributed throughout Moscow and Leningrad. They even have a bank account - impossible for a group or society to obtain without the authority of the council, state or government. They clearly have friends in high places.



Pamyat members in fascist uniform.

EXTRACTS FROM PAMYAT'S MANIFESTO

Compatriots!

Brothers and Sisters!

Friends!

1. We demand that our state, a great power, cease being a colony and a source of raw materials for the world Zionist financial oligarchy.

40. Decent people cannot make any compromises with the Zionist state, which was created and exists on the basis of the doctrine of Jewish Fascism. We categorically protest against the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel.

50. We consider all cases of separatism and hostility between the nationalities in our country a dirty Zionist-Masonic provocation, and we demand that the real names of the initiators be exposed and that they be punished.

58. We demand the cessation of the plunder of our land by the granting of concessions here to Zionist-Masonic capital.

60. We demand the revealing of the archives and the exposure of the levers of secret power, which disfigured our country during the time of the "red terror" ... which abandoned our country into a torrent of plunder, and condemned it to spiritual impoverishment and the genocide of all the peoples of our great state ... during the time of this Zionist genocide.

We will not sell our birthright for a pottage of lentils to the Zionist mongrels. There is no power in the world able to break the reptile's back except our spirit, our great state, our unity.

Moscow NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT

12 January 1989 "PAMYAT"

THE PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION

Russian anti-Semitic "ideology" stems primarily from "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion". This book was written by Professor Sergei Nilus, a priest in the Russian Orthodox Church, and first published in 1905. [It was later acknowledged and supported by Hitler in "Mein Kampf"]. "The Protocols" (as it has become more commonly known) documents a meeting of Jewish elders that supposedly took place in the nineteenth century, when they discussed ways to take over the world.

For example, in the Epilogue to the 1905 edition, Nilus gives the following description of the much-used anti-Semitic image: the Snake :-" These learned men decided by peaceful means to conquer the world for Zion with the slyness of the Symbolic Snake whose head was to represent those who have been initiated into the plans of the Jewish administration, and the body of the Snake to represent the Jewish people. As this Snake penetrated into the hearts of the nations which it encountered it undermined and devoured all the non-Jewish power of these States. It is foretold that the Snake has still to finish its work, strictly adhering to the designed plan, until the course which it has to run is closed by the return of its head to Zion and until, by this means, the snake has completed its round of Europe and has encircled it -and until, by dint of enchaining Europe, it has encompassed the whole world."

This book was immediately considered a forgery throughout the world, except for one main exception: Russia. One of the major themes that runs throughout "The Protocols", and one of the reasons as to why the Jews are becoming the scapegoats of society now under glasnost and perestroika, is the creation of universal economic crisis that will lead to the overthrowing of the current governments by the Jewish-Masonic forces.

"The Protocols" and other chauvinistic, anti-Semitic literature is currently being reprinted and distributed on the streets of Moscow and Leningrad by black-shirt fascists and others.



One of the many different front covers of "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion", still being distributed to date.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE USSR

- * In 1545, Jews were forbidden to visit or trade in Moscow; in 1563 Tsar Ivan ordered all Jews to be baptised; in 1610 the embargo on Jews entering Moscow was extended to all Russia and in the mid-1600s, over 100,000 Jews were murdered by Cossacks.
- * Following the partitions of Poland, in the late eighteenth century, under Catherine the Great, Russian Jews were compelled to live solely in a designated area. This became known as the 'Pale of Settlement'.
- * 1871-1914 was a period of pogrom. Stimulated by anti-Semitism, attacks on Jews were openly encouraged by members of the Government.

Following the Revolution of 1917, many synagogues were closed down as part of a vigorous campaign against Jewish religious, communal and cultural activity. Many Jews were murdered during the Civil War and in 1919, 60,000 Jews were murdered by Ukrainian anti-Bolsheviks.

- * By the late 1920s the publication of all Hebrew books had been suspended as had all Jewish communal institutions.
- * 1928 saw the creation of Birobidjan, on the Chinese border, established by Stalin as a buffer zone between China and Russia. It also became a 'Jewish Autonomous District' since Stalin wanted to prevent Jews going to Palestine. As a 'Soviet Jewish homeland' the experiment failed.
- * 1934-45 was the period of Stalin's purges when thousands of writers, poets and critics were murdered or disappeared in labour camps in Siberia. A disproportionate number of those murdered and exiled were Jews.
- * 1941-45 during The Holocaust the actions of the S.S. Einsatzgruppen accounted for the deaths of 885,000 who lived in the Soviet Union. The worst single massacre took place at Babi Yar, near Kiev, where tens of thousands were murdered. To this day, the authorities refuse to recognise that the vast majority of victims at Babi Yar were Jews.

* 1948-53 saw a series of official anti-Jewish measures, halted only briefly by Stalin's death in 1953. This included the closure of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and the murder of the Jewish theatre director, Solomon Mikhoels. It also saw the re-emergence of anti-Semitism, particularly in the press. In 1953 many prominent doctors, most of them Jewish, were accused of conspiring to kill Soviet leaders. In 1956 several hundred Jews were arrested for 'economic crimes' and sentenced to long prison terms in forced labour camps or shot. During 1958 and 1959 there were a series of anti-Jewish incidents throughout the Soviet Union. Anti-Semitic leaflets were distributed, and attacks were made on many Jewish homes and shops. In Moscow, in December 1958, ten Jews were arrested for studying Hebrew and charged with 'Zionist activity'.

The fact that the official Soviet media publishes anti-Semitic material strongly indicates that a powerful faction controlling events in the USSR supports these prejudices.

The claim by Soviet propagandists that their works are purely anti-Zionist in nature is not borne out by the facts. The so-called anti-Zionism is frequently found to contain manifestly anti-Jewish images and stereotypes. In fact, the term "Zionist" is often used synonymously with "Jew".

With the apparent eclipse from prominence of certain notorious anti-Semitic authors such as Begun, Evseev and Korneev, the barely disguised anti-Semitic propaganda of the 1970s - in particular overt assaults on the Jewish religion as a source of the 'evil deeds' of the Jews and Zionists - has waned.

Nevertheless, some elements of the 1970s propaganda remain. For example, the theme of a Jewish/Zionist conspiracy to dominate the world, which is the basis of the notorious tsarist forgery 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion', is still to be found in Soviet propaganda. Thus, for example:

'Zionism supplied moral justification and political legality for the economic domination of big Jewish finance capital. It backed the secret springs of influence exerted by Jewish financial magnates with open levers of political pressure... for the Zionist leaders the creation of a Jewish state was not an end in itself, but a means for securing global objectives' (Y. Borin, 'Zionism: its roots and objectives', New Times, Moscow, 2 August 1985).

The author of the above article also invokes Protocols' themes through his mischievous association of 'Zionists' - i.e. Jews - with the internal upheavals which have taken place in recent years in Soviet Bloc countries:

'...the Zionists have invariably been in the forefront of reaction and counter-revolution and have always engaged in subversive activities against the socialist countries. Their hand was evident in the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland in 1980-81...'

Another Protocols' theme (as well as a major slogan of the Nazi movement) - an alleged Jewish-masonic conspiracy - continues to re-appear in Soviet propaganda. Thus, for example, one Soviet writer describes:

'...the common gravitation of (the various branches of freemasonry) towards US imperialism and Zionism, which pursue their racist ideology and imperial policies through secret masonic channels...' (Sovietskaya Belorussiya, Minsk, 20 October 1985).

At the same time, there has emerged in Soviet propaganda an increased emphasis on the Zionism-fascism equation, to the extent that this has become perhaps the dominant theme of current Soviet anti-Zionist/anti-Semitic propaganda.

The Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, established in 1983, also peddles this propaganda theme. It essentially comprises three interconnected sub-themes: the charge of Zionist collaboration with Nazism and fascism; the alleged affinity of these ideologies; and the assumed similarity of Israel's policies to those of the Nazis. The Soviet distortions and falsifications of history are accompanied by a policy of playing down, and even of outright concealment, of the Jewish role in the struggle against Nazism. Such propaganda is deeply offensive to Jews in general and has been discredited elsewhere. It cannot but foster anti-Jewish attitudes in the USSR where memories of the traumatic war against Nazi Germany are cultivated by the Soviet authorities.

Thus, for instance, in a Moscow Radio home service broadcast on 7 December 1983 Professor Evgeny Nozhin claimed that:

'The Zionists were essentially the accomplices of the Hitlerites and even participants in the mass annihilation of the Jews. Facts are known of when the Zionists wore the uniforms of the German Polizei, for instance in Lvov, served as overseers in fascist death camps, and carried out espionage tasks for the Hitlerites.'

At the time of the fortieth anniversary of the trials of Nazi war criminals, in autumn 1985, particular attention was paid by the Soviet media to the equation of Zionism with Nazism. The author of the afore-mentioned New Times article wrote, for example, that:

'During the Second World War the purpose of the Zionists was to select and save the most loyal, fanatical Zionist youth and take them to Palestine, and to enable the Jewish moneybags to emigrate to the Western countries with most of their capital...In addition, the Zionists helped remove Jews who were opposed to Zionism. They did their utmost to prevent the Jews from fighting Hitlerism, to urge them to be obedient, dooming them to death in order to discourage them from uniting with other peoples in the fight against the common enemy....Hitler's policy of genocide came in handy for the Zionists. The idea of creating an independent Jewish state evoked a response it would never have had under different circumstances. It was now, so to say, sanctified by the blood of millions of innocent Jewish victims' (New Times, Moscow, 2 August 1985)

The vindication of Jewish prisoners of conscience has been a constant theme in anti-Semitic stances adopted by the press. For example the prisoner Yuri Massover, a forensic psychiatrist who was convicted on January 7, 1987 for taking bribes. He was sentenced to 9 years confinement in a reinforced regime, had his property confiscated and was banned from practising medicine for 5 years. In March 1987 shortly before his appeal was due to be heard he was vilified in the press, presumably to justify his conviction and to influence the outcome of his appeal. Yuri has been the subject of such vilification at other times. Such practices have not been swept aside by Glasnost as is demonstrated by the January 9 1990 edition of Pravda in which two long term prisoners, Mikhail Kazachkov and Leonid Lubman, were vilified. The newspaper yet again repeated the false accusation that both men had been spying for the United States and that "they got their just deserts".

In issue no. 4 1990 of the monthly magazine "Nash Sovrenenik" ("Our Contemporary") a letter was published detailing a number of accusations against Jews. Jews were accused of being guilty of all the misfortunes of Russia, aiming to destroy the Russian people, organising fascist detachments in Russia, killing Yevseev (Pamyat leader killed in a car crash in early 1990), whilst Israel is accused of being a fascist state and her political figures are insulted. This is not the first time that "Nash Sovrenenik" has published such an inflammatory article.

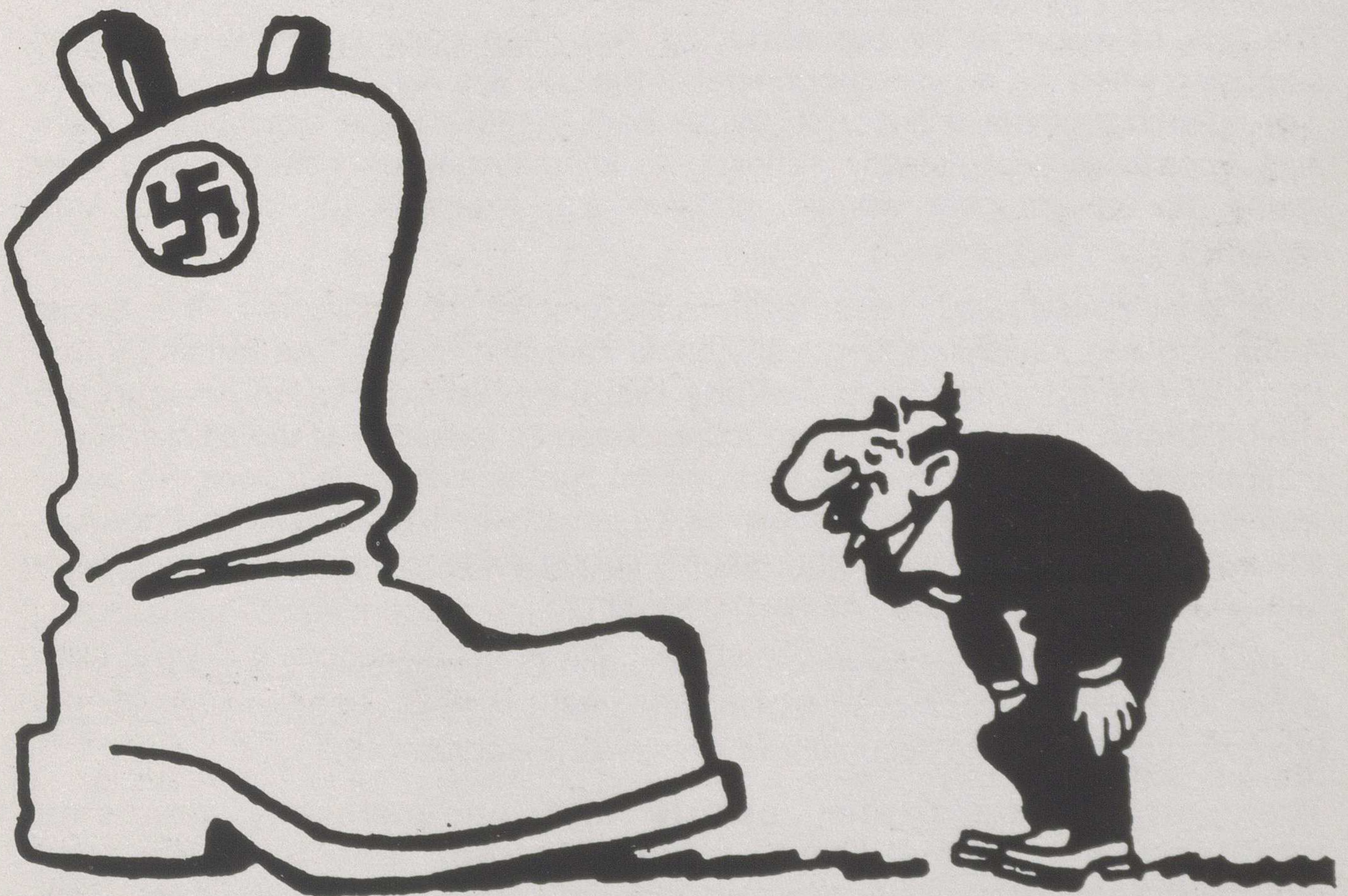
On 2 March 1990 an 8,000 word address to the Supreme Soviet was published in the journal "Literaturnaya Rossiya". It was signed by more than 70 "patriotic" writers from all parts of the USSR.

The liberal press, campaigners against anti-Semitism, and VAAD (the representative council of Jews in the USSR) all came under attack. The Soviet Academy was also vilified, accused of playing into

the hands of VAAD by countenancing a sociological survey into the growth of popular anti-Semitism. The article maintained that the growth of anti-Semitism and the rumours of Pogrom were engineered by "groups serving Zionist inspired circles". Although the signatories tried to distance themselves from what they described as the more extreme branches of Pamyat, several of them are known to be Pamyat supporters.

In a letter from the Belorussian Social Security to all their branches, the following anti-Semitic wording was included:

"The Ministry of Labour has approved pensions and other privileges for all those who were minors interned in fascist Labour Camps. All minors of the Jewish nationality who were in fascist Ghettos do not qualify." ("Jews in the USSR", 6 June 1990)



An anti-Semitic cartoon published in 1964 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev.

THE RESPONSE BY THE AUTHORITIES

ARTICLE 74, RUSSIAN CRIMINAL CODE:

" Propaganda or agitation for the purpose of arousing racial or national hostility or dissension, and likewise the direct or indirect restriction of rights or the establishment of direct or indirect restriction of rights or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens depending on their racial or national affiliation shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term of from six months to three years or by exile for a term of from two to five years."

Despite this existing law, at the time of writing, not one term of imprisonment has been introduced for an individual under Article 74. Either that is because there is not enough evidence to bring such racists to trial or because of the authorities' lack of will in the pursuit of justice on this issue.

The lack of response by the authorities has been quite apparent. Is it at all surprising when the prosecutor general of the USSR is A.J. Suchariev? Suchariev was co-author of the anti-Zionist "White Book" (1985) which describes Zionism and Zionists as "consistently adhering to international terrorism, sending their young "to kill innocent women, children and elders in the occupied Arab territories".

In a letter dated May 1990 to British Members of Parliament, the Soviet Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Leonid Zamyatin, stated, **"As far as I know there are no confirmed facts of any racial-based attacks on Jews in the Soviet Union."** If these words are to be viewed as indicative of the official Soviet perspective on this problem, the future of the fight against racism does not augur well. Indeed this would not appear to be an isolated response, as Pogroms, attacks and other such activities, despite strong evidence to the contrary, have been continually blamed on "drunken hooligans".

In June 1990, at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe's Human Dimension Conference, the Soviet Union signed the "National Minorities and the Promotion of Tolerance" document which states (Paragraph 40):

The participating States clearly and unequivocally condemn totalitarianism, racial and ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism, all manifestations of xenophobia and discrimination against anyone ... as well as persecution on religious and ideological grounds. They declare their firm intention to intensify the efforts to combat these phenomena in all their forms and therefore:

(40.1) take effective measures, including the adoption, in conformity with their constitutional systems and their international obligations, of such laws as may be necessary, to protect against any acts that constitute incitement of violence against persons or groups based on national, racial, ethnic or religious discrimination, hostility or hatred, including antisemitism;

(40.2) commit themselves to take appropriate and proportionate measures to protect persons who may be subject to threats or acts of discrimination, hostility or violence as a result of their racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity, also to protect their property;

(40.3) take effective measures, in conformity with their constitutional systems, at the national, regional and local levels to promote understanding and tolerance, particularly in the fields of education, culture and information;

(40.4) endeavour to ensure that the objectives of education include special attention to the problem of racial prejudice and hatred and to the development of respect for different civilizations and cultures;

(40.5) reaffirm their commitment to recognise the right of the individual to effective remedies and endeavour to recognise, in conformity with national legislation, the right of interested persons and groups to initiate and support complaints against acts of discrimination, including racist and xenophobic acts;

(40.6) consider adhering, if they have not yet done so, to the international instruments which address the problem of discrimination and ensure full compliance with the obligations therein, including those relating to the submission of periodic reports;

(40.7) consider, also, accepting those international mechanisms which allow states and individuals to bring communications relating to discrimination before international bodies.

VALENTIN RASPUTIN - member of Gorbachev's Presidential Council (appointed advisers) - in a "New York Times" (January 1990) interview said:

"I think today the Jews here should feel responsible for the sin of having carried out the [Bolshevik] revolution and for the shape that it took. They should feel responsible for the terror that existed during the revolution. They played a large role and their guilt is great - both for the killing of G-d and for that."

ANDEZHAN : A CASE STUDY

The Pogrom in Andezhan on May 2nd 1990 mirrored many other ethnic clashes throughout the area which seems to suggest that these activities are the work of organised groups.

It is estimated that as many as 20,000 took part in the Andezhan Pogrom. Various reports have indicated that this group was in fact sub-divided into smaller groups each of which had an identifiable leader, believed to be a mullah. Crimes committed include gang rape, grievous bodily harm, actual bodily harm, arson attacks, robbery and murder.

This Pogrom cannot have been a spontaneous burst of hooliganism as the authorities would have us believe. Amongst the weaponry used by the attackers were Molotov cocktails and an assortment of fire-arms. Other indications of the pre-planned nature of this attack lie with the banners which the pogromists bore reading, "Jews and Armenians, we give you two days to leave. In two days you will be killed." These anti-Armenian and anti-Semitic threats were first made several months ago. The overtly racist nature of the attack is further illustrated during the riot. When the pogromists burst into peoples homes they demanded to know the nationalities of the residents. On hearing that the occupants were Uzbeki they departed peacefully.

Whilst committing these crimes the extremists continually stated that they had spared their victims lives temporarily in accordance with the decisions of their leaders; they were giving the Jews and Armenians one last chance to leave Uzbekistan. The victims were almost exclusively Armenian and Jewish; it would appear that any other casualties were harmed accidentally.

Despite this evidence the authorities refuse to admit the racist nature of these crimes and prosecute accordingly. During the actual pogrom the militia were informed and gave the response that there was "...nothing we can do, we have no orders." They failed to make an appearance at the scene of the carnage until long after it was over.

It is felt that the authorities must have known in advance of the Pogrom as in the months prior to the attack numerous appeals for protection were made to them by Armenians and Jews. In any case the failure of the authorities to take appropriate action clearly demonstrates the authorities' lack of will.

Witnesses testify that there has been a censorship of reporting the Andezhan Pogrom in the media. It is clear from the actions of the authorities that they are embarrassed or ashamed of their policy of non-action, attempting now to eradicate any signs remaining of the desecration that took place on 2nd May.

STATEMENT

In this statement, we, the undersigned victims of Pogrom which occurred in Andezhan, the Uzbekistan S.S.R., on 2nd May 1990, set forth our demands to the local, republican, and all-union powers.

We are writing in conditions of continuing fires, the pressure of fear and psychosis, in our homes. Local authorities repeatedly reassured the Russian-speaking population, especially those of Armenian and Jewish nationalities, of the extremist-nationalistic groups.

Organs of the Party Committee of Uzbekistan, 2nd Secretary of the District Party Committee I.A.Kochmarik, Soviet President of the District Executive Committee E.Rakimo, the State Security Committee, deputy head of the Uzbekistan KGB R.K.Matkabilov, and other responsible officials, repeatedly gave not only reassuring promises but firm guarantees of security of our families and property which were exposed to threat again and again in a continuous tirade of telephone, oral and written threats. This policy of pacifying our fears only played into the hands of the extremist Pogromists. These officials did not call to the people themselves or organise defence for them. Instead we lost everything that generation after generation had laboured for. We have been advised by "well-wishers" to sell our homes in part-exchange and move to more secure places.

Criminal negligence and incompetence of people in power, who had to know beforehand the organisers of the disturbances which were planned, and had to suppress it at the very beginning using force, led to such a situation that we left all our belongings and suffered great moral damage. It is not a natural disaster - it is a pre-planned act by nationalist elements. It is proved by the fact that Pogromists had a lot of burning fluid in bottles and synthetic packets and metallic trowels and similar instruments that could be used as weapons. Such weapons were successfully used in the Uzbeki towns of Fergana, Kokand and others.

And now local and republican powers are attempting in every way to detract from the truth and their responsibility, stating that this savage anti-Armenian and anti-Jewish Pogrom is not an act of national intolerance but a result of small groups of hooligans. Their "reasoning" behind this is that some houses belonging to other nationalities - in fact only three Uzbeki houses - were burnt down too. However, when the Pogromists burst into the houses they demanded the nationality of the inhabitants, so it would not be difficult to prove that this was a racist attack. Among us there are many witnesses who can give evidence that they heard the Pogromists asking the inhabitants whether or not they were Uzbeki; and on hearing that they were Uzbeki went away. The Uzbeki houses were only burnt down because they were situated next to Russian speakers' houses, the town procurator's or the jewellery store. No other separate Uzbeki houses were set on fire. So this single argument of the authorities about the Pogrom does not stand up to criticism.

To save face, the republic's powers are trying to cover up the consequences of the fire and destruction. Like beautiful sweets they want to tempt the exhausted blood-drained victims by offering to replace the houses wrecked by fire by building within two months new houses and giving financial compensation totally inappropriate to the market value. For thoroughly burnt out and robbed property they offer a crumb of 2000 Roubles per family. According to our estimates, based on ample evidence, we calculate a minimum sum per family of 11,000 Roubles.

In view of the above, we demand the following :-

1. The Republic Commission must give political evaluation and to state that it was the work of national extremists against the Russian-speaking people, during which they and the criminal elements warmed their hands. They used the times of Pogrom and chaos together with the practical inactivity of the authorities to loot shops, savings-banks and other state institutions and buildings. If the commission continues to conceal the truth about the Pogrom and even if they bribe us with the most far-sighted, high-up diplomatic incentives we shall qualify it as the result of their wish not to wash their dirty laundry in public, and will demand the involvement of representatives from the all-union authorities in the commission hoping that such people will give an honest and objective evaluation to everything that happened. Almost all representatives of Russian-speaking people say the same at their meetings.
2. Our property has been destroyed not by a natural disaster but solely due to the violation of the USSR constitution which guarantees preservation of national minorities and rights. Therefore we demand full compensation from the authorities, or at least some form of compromise, but not the ridiculously small amount offered to us to date.
3. We will not agree to bulldoze the ruins and build new houses until a positive fulfilment of the above demands are met.
4. We ask that this must be put into action as soon as possible, because of the extremely difficult situation we are in, but not exceeding the established law.

And for this we offer our signatures, surnames, addresses and nationalities of the inhabitants of the burnt houses and victims of Pogrom

№	Ф И О	Адрес	Кол-во членов семьи	Националь- ность	Подпись
1.	Алезсакиев А.Р.	Кухело 28	5	еврей	<i>[Signature]</i>
2.	Аронов И.М.	Кухело 28 ^a	6	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
3.	Эфраймова К.	Кухело 30	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
4.	Хсупова Д.	Кухело 30 ^a	2	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
5.	Ягудаев У.	Кухело 33	4	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
6.	Аронова С.	Энгельса 50	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
7.	Якубова Н.	Энгельса 50 ^a	2	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
8.	Ягудаев М.	Энгельса 42	2	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
9.	Гавриэлова А.Г.	Лермонтова 19	6	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
10.	Амуев Я.М.	Лермонтова 21	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
11.	Амуева С.Ш.	Лермонтова 21	1	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
12.	Езмайлова И.	Лермонтова 21	3	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
13.	Хачатуров Н.Г.	Кухело 26	2	армянин	<i>[Signature]</i>
14.	Хачатуров В.	Кухело 26	4	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
15.	Хачатурова М.	Кухело 26	1	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
16.	Багдасаров Г.Б.	Шевченко 40	6	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
17.	Мнацаканян В.С.	Энгельса 46	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
18.	Арутюнов В.Г.	Энгельса 46 ^a	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
19.	Авакова Т.М.	Энгельса 42	2	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
20.	Айрапетова Н.А.	Энгельса 42	1	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
21.	Айрапетов Г.М.	Энгельса 42	4	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
22.	Саркисьянц В.А.	Энгельса 42	2	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
23.	Айрапетов А.М.	Энгельса 42	1	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
24.	Айрапетова Т.Т.	Энгельса 42	1	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
25.	Аваков Ю.Т.	Энгельса 44	4	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
26.	Дальянц Ю.А.	Энгельса 42	3	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
27.	Багдасарова Н.С.	Энгельса 34	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
28.	Бабаянц А.А.	Энгельса 34	2	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
29.	Бабаянц В.Д.	Энгельса 34	3	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
30.	Севлимян А.	Лермонтова 31	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
31.	Мкртчяна Ф.	Лермонтова 31	2	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
32.	Злобина С.	Лермонтова 31	1	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
33.	Багдасарова П.	Лермонтова 31	1	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
34.	Мавальянц С.П.	Кирова 34	3	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
35.	Бакунц Ю.	Лермонтова 1	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
36.	Шакарьянц А.Д.	Красина 4	5	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
37.	Аветисов А.Г.	Кухело 17	3	-//-	<i>[Signature]</i>
38.	Ботоева З.	Кухело 24	3	осетинка	<i>[Signature]</i>
39.	Трондофилов А.Г.	Шевченко 38	2	грек	<i>[Signature]</i>
40.	Трондофилов А.А.	Шевченко 34	4	грек	<i>[Signature]</i>

One of the pages of signatures at the bottom of the statement made by survivors of the Andezhan Pogrom.

GLOSSARY OF VARIOUS ANTI-SEMITIC ORGANISATIONS IN THE USSR

As already mentioned, the organisation Pamyat, although united in its fight against the Jews, is separated into several factions that often fight against each other over the "finer points" of their respective programmes. These factions are often forming new alliances amongst themselves, only to be divided again over, for example, the trial of Konstantin Smirnoff-Ostashvilli - the leader of one such faction - for excitement of racial hatred. Several of Pamyat's factions have openly challenged the Committee for the Defence of Smirnoff-Ostashvilli (formed by Ostashvilli's very own faction). The names of the more well-known factions, although varying according to their own publications (determining how grandiose their organisation should appear), are :-

Russian Orthodox National Patriotic Front Pamyat

Union Of Proportional Representation Pamyat

Russian Popular Party (St. Petersburg)

Russian Liberation Movement

Christian Patriotic Union

The Russian Orthodox Movement (R.O.M.) is a smaller, more specifically targetted, umbrella organisation for chauvinistic Russian Orthodox groups. Under its auspices are the aforementioned Russian Orthodox National Patriotic Front, The Union of Proportional Representation and The Russian Liberation Movement.

One other Russian nationalist umbrella organisation, founded in June 1990, is **Edinenie** (Unification) otherwise known as the All-Russian Association of Devotees of Russian Literature and Culture. Anti-Semitic groups under Edinenie's umbrella include the Russian Writers' Union and Otochestvo (see later for details).

Pamyat and its factions and sub-umbrella organisation(s) are not alone in causing concern and anxiety.

A similarly chauvinistic group **Spasenie** (Salvation) was established in Leningrad, while in Sverdlosk, a group called **Otochestvo** (Fatherland) was created. Neo-Nazi youth groups wearing Nazi-type regalia and using the Hitler salute have also appeared in several cities. In Leningrad, in April 1988, demonstrations were organised on Hitler's birthday. Shortly afterward gravestones were desecrated in Leningrad's Jewish cemetery.

The National Greek Orthodox Movement is yet another Russian "Patriotic" organisation who deify Tsar Nicholas II. The following are extracts from leader Alexander Kulakov's rhetoric :

"I declare that the main enemy of the Russian people and all Aryan races are the Jews ... We do not consider the Jews to be the victims of the German people. We consider the German people to be the victims of Jewish lying ... We are the true descendants of the glorious Black Hundred whose work we shall carry on." [The Black Hundreds were a notorious anti-Semitic organisation who instigated Pogrom at the turn of the twentieth century]

"We oppose Marxism, Leninism, Zionism, Communism and parliamentarianism, all invented by the Jews to destroy the true Christian soul ... We demand the immediate ban on all Jewish emigration until their fate has been decided upon by a supreme tribunal of the Russian people."

Birlik is a fundamentalist Muslim organisation founded in Uzbekistan in 1988. Their goals include the expulsion of all Jews and Russians from that republic. In February 1989 demonstrations took place in Tashkent. Placards were carried by the participants reading, "Expel all Russians. Leave the Jews to us: we will take care of them ourselves".

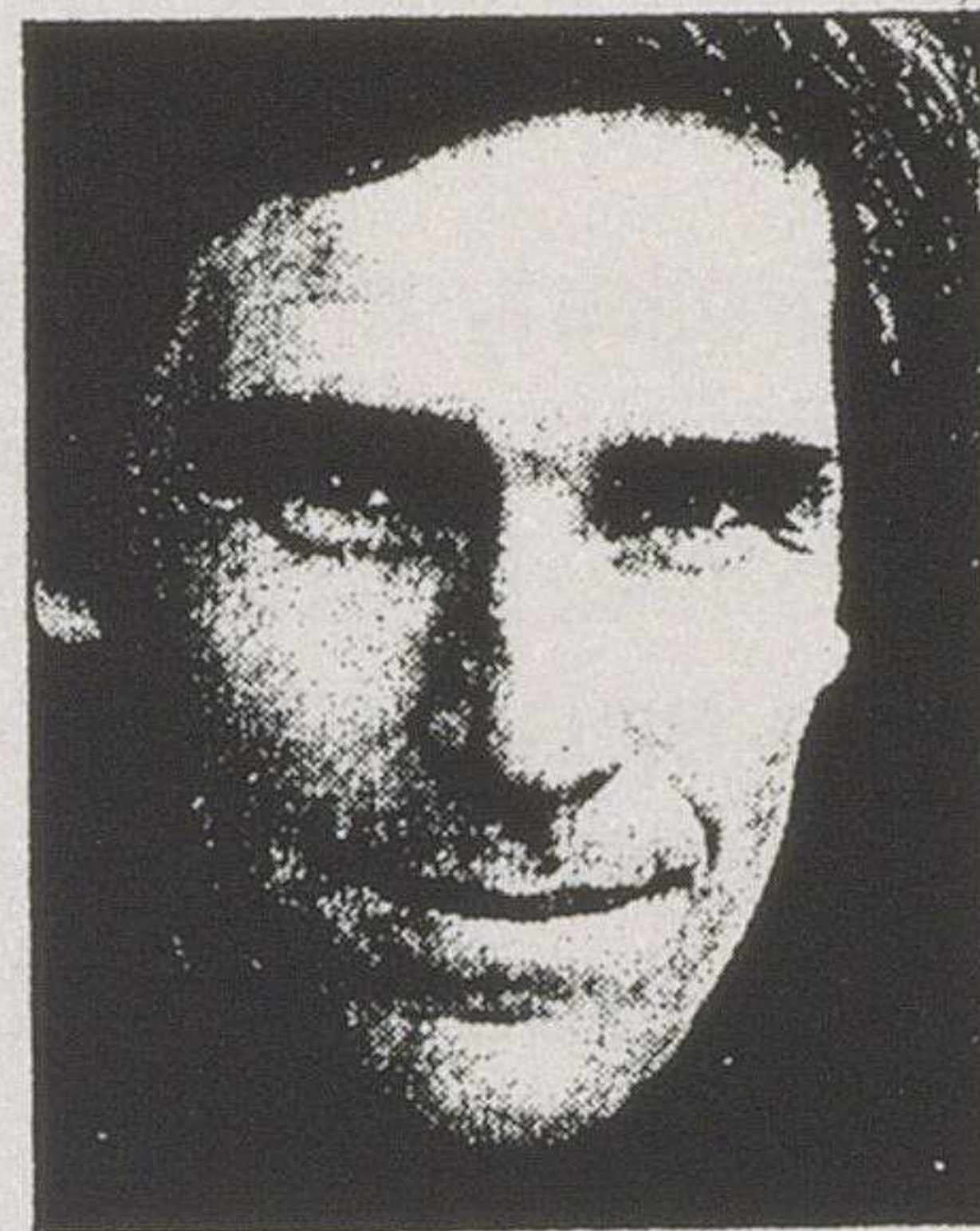
The Russian Republic Branch of the Writer's Union (Sergei Voronin is the spokesperson from the Leningrad group). In a letter to the New York Times dated May 27 1990, two American University professors, John and Carol Garrard wrote that "transcripts of meetings read like accounts of speeches at Nazi rallies in the 1930s...Another 'blood-dimmed tide' is gathering strength...".

The Republican People's Party was formed when Pamyat attempted to "legitimise" itself. The party leaders are Antonov and Nikolai Lesenko both of whom were in the vanguard of Pamyat in Leningrad. It was Lesenko who uttered the words "I would gladly be hanged if I could take 10 Jews with me". He has been warned by the public prosecutor over his racist remarks.

Other anti-Semitic organisations include **Rossiia Narodnaya Partia** (Russian National Party), and **Khristyanskyi Trudovoy Soyuz** (Union of Christian Workers).

Michael Ignatieff in Moscow

If you want to get bitten, come closer



I AM IN a two-room apartment in a workers' district in the north-east of the city. The curtains are drawn against the light of day. I am seated at a table next to a fat man wearing a brown shirt and black tie with a tiny swastika tie pin. Oil lamps are flickering under icons in the corner of the room. Above the bed opposite is a photograph of Tsar Nicholas II and a dark brown banner of Christ crucified, with coal black eyes.

A muscular man with slicked-back grey hair and a face like a hatchet is pacing up and down. On his wrist is a thong. Attached to the thong is a chain, and to the chain, a steel ball with sharp points.

'It is called the kisten,' he says. 'A traditional Russian weapon.'

He shoots his hand forward and the ball snaps towards its target. 'There! Right between the eyes!'

He stops and smiles, to make sure his little show is having the desired effect on 'our foreign guest'. He says, with a smirk, 'I say this to the Jews: if you want to get bitten, come closer.'

In January, he and 40 followers of the racist organisation Pamyat burst into the Soviet Writers' Union and broke up a meeting of reformist writers, called April, convened by Evgeny Yevtushenko and others. It was the most serious anti-semitic demonstration in Moscow since Gorbachov's rise to power.

'What do you have against Yevtushenko?'

His eyes are small, wide-set, squeezed tight with malice. 'All these democratic leaders — Yevtushenko, Korotich, Afanasyev, Shatrov. The Russian people gave them everything. They drive Mercedes, they live better than all of us, and they spit at us. Especially Yevtushenko. Do you know who he really is? A Latvian Jew.'

I change the subject. The writers themselves are convinced the militia withdrew in order to leave Pamyat a free hand.

'Did the police leave you a free hand?'

'The Jews must not be allowed to emigrate. They must be put on trial. For genocide.'

'What genocide?'

'The genocide of the Russian people. We have the figures. Sixty to 100 million people were exterminated in the gulag. It was worse than Kampuchea. It was an attempt to exterminate not a class, but a genetic type, the Russian type.'

I begin to say Stalin, the party, the security organs were responsible, but he waves his hand, as if dismissing the objections of a child. 'Of 556 members of the Central Committee in those years, 460 were Jews.' He brandishes tight, blurred sheets of figures at me. 'And the rest had Jewish girlfriends.'

I think to myself: Pamyat is what a nation gets when it is lied to for 70 years. When the truth finally comes out, who

can remember what truth, real truth, sounds like? Most have got used to the delusional lullaby of blame. Somebody must be to blame for the gulag. Not Stalin, the good Tsar. Not the KGB, our secret friends. Who else but the Jews?

'What do you want?' I say, wanting to leave, to breathe undefiled air.

The man with the swastika quotes Count Uvarov, nineteenth-century theoretician of absolutism. 'We want a pyramid: God, then Emperor, then State, then Nation, then people. Individuals come last.'

'What do you have against democracy?'

'It is a lower principle, a principle of the intellect. It is like Freudianism, like liberalism, good only for Jews.'

I look up at the portrait of Nicholas II. The man with the weapon follows my eye. 'Murdered by the Jews, as a ritual sacrifice. We have the proof.'

I force myself to keep playing the journalist's game here. 'What does the Church think of your activities?'

'We have the blessing of the church-in-exile, of Metropolitan Vitaly.'

'I got a phone call. They give us help,' he says, with a smirk.

What kind of help?

'Weapons training.' Where? 'In apartment basements.' Who does the training? 'KGB border guards.' Who else? 'Returned veterans from Afghanistan.' What other help do you get from the police? 'We get to see files. That's where we learn the real names of people like Yevtushenko.'

'You may have covert police help,' I say, 'but you don't seem to have as much popular support as you want us Western journalists to believe. Why, for example, did the so-called patriotic parties do so poorly in recent elections?'

The man with the weapon fires back. 'We made the mistake of being too cautious. We still used the word "socialist". We won't make that mistake again.'

'What happened in your life to make you hate the Jews?'

He stops, stares hard at me, resumes pacing, shaking his head, pounding the ball with his hand.

'I work in a *rezhim zavod* — a state factory specialising in secret defence production. Do you think Jews are allowed to work in such places? So I have no contact with them. They have done me no harm, I have no physical hostility. I can

'Pamyat is what a nation gets when it is lied to for 70 years. When the truth finally comes out, who can remember what truth sounds like? Most have got used to the delusional lullaby of blame.'

share a glass with them. I even have had Jewish girlfriends.'

All this is to let me know he acts from the purest of motives, from love of Russia.

They cannot know, since their vile certainties do not allow them the simplest human curiosity, that I have a Russian name and that my family was raised in all the traditions — Tsarism and Orthodoxy — that they have pillaged for their delusional alternative to Bolshevism. Yet such is the desert Communism has made in human memory that who can remember now that Throne and Altar did not always mean the pogrom, the knout, the kisten?

It would be easier for me if Pamyat had just defiled something honourable. But the tradition was stained from the beginning. I know very well that when my grandmother witnessed a pogrom in Kiev in 1905, there were priests with icons at the head of the mob to sanctify the looting. Human decency is sustained more by tradition than by instinct. So what undefiled tradition remains in Russia to help honest Gentiles to say: We stand with the Jews?

I do not shake hands as I leave. They look pleased by the spectacle they have made. A last question.

'When will your time come?'

They smile. 'When Gorbachov fails, and when the radical democrats fail. We are for the day after tomorrow.'

When I get back into my cab, I think this is what it might have been like to interview Hitler in Munich in 1923, if anyone had bothered. When I tell my taxi-driver about it, he turns with a grim little smile, and hands me an envelope with Hebrew lettering on it. It is his Israeli visa.

The Observer

RECENT ATTACKS

On **August 23 1989** Leonid Sheynerman from Moscow was beaten up by 3 Pamyat thugs. Such was the severity of the attack that he was hospitalised for 5 months and in June 1990 was still suffering brain damage.

In **October 1989** the home of Mrs. Zhitrikova in Moscow was broken into. The robbers smashed many windows and screamed "Kikes". They threatened to kill her and made threats against the lives of her children.

In **December 1989** ten year old Sasha Garber was beaten up by his gym teacher at school so severely that he was hospitalised and now has a serious cerebral injury. He was the only Jewish child in his class.

In **December 1989** 200 Pamyat members demonstrated outside the Moscow venue of the first Jewish Congress to be held in the USSR. They greeted the delegates shouting "Zionists, Fascists - you kill Palestinians." They were joined by Arab protestors. Police intervened to disperse the demonstrators only after some of the delegates had been physically attacked.

In **January 1990** Pamyat blackshirts stormed a meeting of the Writers' Club yelling "Yids clear off to Israel". Two Jewish women were threatened and, when another writer came to their assistance, he was beaten up. However the Public Prosecutor stated in May 1990 that there is not enough evidence of the attack being racist, hence the intruders will be tried as "hooligans".

Rumours of Pogroms on **February 25** and **May 5** swept through cities thousands of miles apart. Although no physical attacks were reported on these days the fear and belief in the potential for realisation of these threats was very great. Jewish owned cars were vandalised.

On **February 24 1990** a demonstration was staged in Moscow outside the Sokol Metro Station by the group Pamyat in commemoration of three "Zionist murder victims": Yevgeny Yevseyev - killed by a vehicle in February 1990

Vladimir Begun - died of a heart attack in Minsk in August 1989

Ivanov - died in Leningrad in 1988

All three men were virulently anti-Semitic.

In **February 1990** a young Jewish woman, Rada Khozhkeva, was waylaid in a lift by a gang of three men. They attacked her carving a Star of David into her breast. She ignored their threats that her children would be murdered and reported the incident to the militia. The police were totally unsympathetic and accused her of inflicting the injuries on herself.

In **March 1990**, 26 Jewish monuments in Bobrusk were destroyed by anti-Semites.

On **March 10 1990** the home of Yuri Saksonnov was subjected to an arson attack. His son Boris perished in the flames. Sources in Leningrad claim that the investigation made no attempts to apprehend any suspects.

Inna Katerly from Moscow published against the notorious anti-Semitic ideologue Alexander Romanenko exposing him for what he is. Romanenko sued her for libel. According to The Committee for the Defence of Jewish Civil and Political Rights on **March 18 1990**, Ms. Katerly received a letter reading "**You lousy dirty kike-muzzle. Fuck off as fast as you can to your lousy Israel or we will prepare a beautiful lampshade from your stinking skin. There is no place for kikes in Russia. The perfect place for kikes is the crematorium. Russia is for Russians. Signed: Russians.**" Exact copies of this letter have been received by many other Jews.

In **March 1990** Nikolai Arzhannikov - a candidate in the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies' elections - discovered thousands of racist leaflets in Frunze RYKOM - the local communist party headquarters. Arzhannikov accused RYKOM of producing racist materials. RYKOM are now suing Arzhannikov for slander.

On **April 4 1990** the Moscow flat of a young Jewish woman lawyer was firebombed. She was burned to death. Prior to the attack she received many threatening anti-Semitic telephone calls. However even in the face of these facts the Public Prosecutor claims there is insufficient evidence to identify the murder as a sectarian crime.

On the night of **April 18 1990** in the town of Kishlavodsk in the Stavropol region of the Northern Caucasus three masked and armed attackers burst into the home of Zavlu and Yail Uzyev. Two of the assailants were accentless Russian speakers. Demanding money and valuables they gagged and blindfolded the whole family. One of the Russian speakers declared: "I have always hated Jews since my childhood. Now we will destroy you all and the whole country will back us." Yail was then forced to watch as her husband was tortured and finally murdered by having his throat slit. The murderers tortured Yail and her son Roman with hot metal rods. They pushed them into the kitchen and turned the gas on with the intention of murdering them too. Neighbours saved them. Zavlu's body was so badly mutilated that the militia refused to allow his relatives to see it. The police have admitted that they cannot guarantee their protection. Yail and Roman have applied for exit visas.

On **May 2 1990**, the Andezhan pogrom took place (see "Andezhan: A Case Study).

In **May 1990** a young Jewish woman, Irina Rosenfeld, died in an anti-Semitic arson attack on her home. The apartment was completely gutted. Threatening notes and calls were received prior to this. The local police have kept the incident at a deliberately low level of investigation.

On **May 21 1990** Naftulyeev, a young Hebrew teacher, returned to his classroom to find it completely wrecked. The classroom was on official premises.

In **July 1990** the following incidents were reported from the Caucasus :-

"WE WILL DRINK YOUR BLOOD" was painted on the front of the home of a Jewish family living in a Muslim neighbourhood in Tashkent.

In Bukhara people are refraining from going to synagogue because crowds of Uzbeks taunt and insult them en route. One elderly Jewish couple was assaulted after a holy-day service by Uzbek anti-Semites shouting "We know you are Jews, get out of the Soviet Union".

Guests at a Jewish wedding reception were terrorized by fundamental Muslim stone-throwers shouting "Death to the Jews" (one boy suffered a head injury).

At midnight, a Jewish family opened their apartment door after cries for help from Uzbek neighbours and a bloodied cat was thrown into the apartment. Attached to the dead cat was a note: "The same thing will happen to you".

On **August 6th 1990** at 5pm, Oxana Kotlyar (then a leading refusenik) and Alexander Vernyik (ex-Soviet Jew), at the front of a queue to enter the Cafe Praga in Arbat Street, Moscow, were met by the waiter's abuses "You are Jews, you killed Russians, we will kill you, go and eat in Israel." Before Oxana Kotlyar was able to complain to the manager, the waiter had found two "witnesses" to testify that Oxana had wanted to kill the waiter!

In **August 1990**, the Orel local 'Pravda' reported the ransacking of fifty Jewish graves in Naugorskoye. The thugs dug up shallow graves to strip the skeletons of any gold in their teeth or buried with them. The Jewish headstones were daubed with swastikas.

According to VAAD (the representative council of Jews in the USSR), there have been desecrations of Jewish graves throughout the USSR including Nalchik, Kabardino-Balkar and Nikolayev.

**EXTRACTS FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH TEMURI JAKOBASHVILI -
PRESIDENT OF THE GEORGIAN JEWISH YOUTH UNION.**

"We face a new kind of anti-Semitism and it's a most dangerous kind of anti-Semitism because under danger now is not our Jewish identity, under danger now is our lives.

"Sometimes it's very funny, if we can say it's funny, because the people, like Pamyat members, they blame the Jews for the Chernobyl problem, the alcoholic problem and any kind of problems.

"They are not only declaring that they will kill Jews and make a pogrom, they are also acting. And we have examples of how they are acting: they are signing Jewish doors with a cross and send letters saying that Jews will answer to the Russian people; Pamyat declare pogrom dates by television, they are disturbing democratic organisations' meetings; and in Asia there's a new type of anti-Semitism coming from Muslim Fundamentalists and it's also very dangerous now because of what happened in Andezhan - it's just a warning that you have to leave as soon as possible because maybe tomorrow you won't have that chance.

"The situation that is going on now in the Soviet Union is very similar to the beginning of Nazism in Germany in 1933; it's exactly similar a situation.

"I think there is no future in the Soviet Union for Soviet Jewry.

"We can see that maybe someone is not a member of Pamyat, but he is supporting Pamyat in the Government, officially they don't want to be a member of Pamyat but they support Pamyat.

"Soviet Jews are not just making aliyah, they are escaping.

"With Rasputin in the President's Council you can then question what kind of position has the President of the USSR ... and these people are leading the policy of the Soviet Union, they are advisers.

"If you are talking about Jews then you have to understand that before 'perestroika' we did not have the possibility to leave the Soviet Union, we did not have the possibility to keep our Jewish identity; now we have these possibilities, but in danger is our lives."

Tblisi, Georgia, USSR August 1990

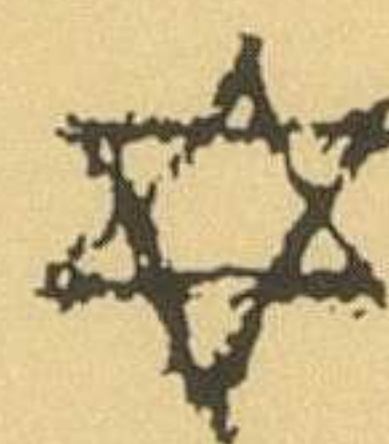
At the time of printing (September 1990), President Mikhail Gorbachev had yet to make a public statement condemning anti-Semitism.

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